

The FOURTH
COLLECTION
OF
C A T O's
Political Letters
IN THE
LONDON JOURNAL.

Nec vero mihi quidquam præstabilius videtur, quam posse dicendo tenere hominum Cætus, mentes allicere, voluntates impellere quo velit ; unde autem velit, deducere. Hæc una res in omni libero populo, maximeque in pacatis tranquillisque Civitatibus, præcipue semper floruit, semperque dominata est.

CICER. de Oratore Lib. I.

L O N D O N :

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THE P R E F A C E.



Readily comply with the Desire of the Publisher to write a short Preface to the new Collection he has made of my Letters for the last four Months. I am more concern'd, than surpriz'd, that these Letters should be ill understood, and maliciously apprehended by those, who, having no Principles of their own, are apt to wrest my Principles to favour their own Prejudices.

These Men are Friends to Truth out of Anger or Chance, and not for her own Sake. I am, however, glad that they have been brought to read and approve a general Condemnation of their own Scheme. It is more than ever they did before ; and I am not without Hopes, that what they have begun in Passion may end in Conviction : I am happy, if I may have been the Means of bringing those Men to think for themselves, whose Character it has been to let other Men think for them — a

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Character which is the highest Shame and the greatest Unhappiness of a rational Being. These Papers having open'd the Principles of Liberty and Power, and render'd them plain to every Understanding, may, perhaps, have their share in preventing for the time to come such Storms of Zeal for Nonsense and Falshood, as have thrown these Kingdoms more than once into Convulsions. I hope I have help'd to cure and remove those monstrous Notions of Government, which were instilled by the crafty Few into the ignorant Many.

For those who profess to entertain the same Sentiments with my self upon this Subject, and yet have been offended; as this their Offence was neither my Fault nor Intention, I can only be sorry for their Sakes, that the Principles which they avowed at all Times, should happen to displease them at any Time. I am willing to believe that it was not the Doctrine, but the Application that disoblig'd them.—Nor am I answerable for this: They themselves made it, and often made it Wrong. I abhor all Attacks upon the Persons and private Characters of Men, and all little Stories and Calumnies invented or reviv'd to blacken them. These are base and dishonest Practices; the Work and Ambition of little and malicious Minds only. Nor wanted I any such ill-bred and contemptible Artifices to gain Readers. I attended only to general Reasonings about publick Virtue and Corruption, unbiass'd by Pique or Favour to any Man. I can say this with as much Truth as any Writer ever could. As I have abused no Man's Person, and courted no Man's Fortune, I have dreaded no Man's Resentment.

The Faults found with these Letters are so frivolous

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volous and ill grounded; that to mention them is almost sufficient to answer and expose them. The putting some Words in Italicks, or different Letters, has given Offence; and I own in some Instances it has been indiscreet: But tho' it was none of my doing, and I have often blamed it, yet I dare answer that it was not maliciously done. However, I have directed it to be alter'd in this Collection.

Other Letters and Passages and Advertisements in the Journal, have been dishonestly blended with Cato's Letters; and when they were call'd Crimes, Cato has been call'd the Criminal——A wicked and a base Charge! Any intelligent Man may see that Cato has nothing farther to do with the Journal, than the writing those Letters which are sign'd with his Name.

I know it has been said, and but said, that Cato has spoken disrespectfully, nay insolently, of the King. If this were true, I should be the first to own that all the Clamour rais'd against me, was just upon me. But the Papers vindicate themselves; and it is certain, that no Prince was ever treated with more Duty and Regard, in any publick or private Writings, than his present Majesty has been in these. In point of Affection and Principle his Majesty has not a better Subject than my self; and if he has any bad ones, they are none of my making. I know that this Nation cannot be sav'd without this King; and I am still perswaded, that nothing tended more to his Advantage and Popularity, or more to the Credit of the Ministry, or more to the Security of the Subject, than the pursuing, with quick and impartial Vengeance, those Men who were Enemies to all Men. And I have the Votes and Proceedings of Parliamt, to shew that that great and honourable Assembly

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Assembly were guided by the same Sentiments, as were the whole Nation.

But it seems I once spoke Latin to his Majesty, and spoke to him in the singular Number — quis te vituperavit. If this be a Libel, they who make it so, are the Libellers. In it self it is a Panegyrick; nor could it be a Satyr in my Mouth, who have ever thought and spoken dutifully of the King, and endeavour'd that all others should do so. As to the Word, Te, addressed to his Majesty in the singular Number, which is the Objection, I am told, of some able Lawyers; I would, in answer, acquaint these learned Goths, that the Purity of the Latin Tongue warrants that way of speaking, and no other, and that none but Monks and Pedants practise any other. VOS regere imperio — And hæ VOBIS erunt artes — would be beautiful E-mendations in a new Edition of Virgil. But as the above ridiculous Objection was made by no Lawyer of Genius or Politeness, it is no Reflection upon his Brethren.

Thus much I think is more than a sufficient Defence against this Latin Crime; which however I have cancell'd, tho' not for their sakes who make it one.

In answer to those deep Politicians, who have been long puzzled to know who were meant by Cicero and Brutus; intending to deal candidly with them, and put them out of pain and doubt, I assure them that Cicero and Brutus were meant: That I know no present Characters or Story that will fit theirs; and that those Letters were translated for the Service of Liberty in general, without intending by them either Reproof or Praise to
any

The PREFACE. vii

any Man living. And if these guessing Sages are in Perplexity about any other Passages in Cato's Letters, it is Ten to One but the same Answer will relieve them.

In Brutus's Letters it is said, we do not dispute about the Qualifications of a Master; we will have no Master. Which is the genuine Sense of the Latin — *Nisi forte non de servitute, sed de conditione serviendi recusandum est a nobis.* From hence some have inferr'd, that, because Brutus was against having a Master, therefore I am against having a King — a strange Construction, and a wild Consequence! As if in translating Brutus's Letter, I was not to follow the Sense of Brutus; or as if there was no difference in England between a King and a Master, which are just as opposite as King and Tyrant. In a Neighbouring Kingdom, indeed, they say that their Monarch is born Master of the Kingdom, and I believe they feel it too; as they do with a Witness in Turkey — But I hope it is not so here. We have a King made and bound by the Law; Brutus having kill'd one Usurper, was opposing another, overturning by Violence all Law. Where is the Parity, or Room for it?

It may perhaps be expected I should say something here of a late Attempt, to Answer this and all other Writings, in a Way that was never before taken, nor heard of — a new Way without a new Occasion! And a Way more terrible to Liberty than to me! Nothing is the best thing I can say of it; and even for that I deserve the Thanks of the Projectors: May it be for ever cover'd with Oblivion! A Wish,
in

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in which I dare say I have their hearty Concurrence: No Man desires to be remember'd but with Honour.

Thus much by way of Preface, I thought might be modestly said, in Defence of a Paper which has more Friends and Readers, than any Paper that has hitherto appear'd in the World; and for its Foes, they are, as to their Number, inconsiderable.

As to my self, who perhaps have more publick Spirit than private Prudence, having done my Duty, I can say with Tully, Quid est, proh deum hominumq; fidem! In quo ego Reip. plus hoc tempore prodesse possim? — Quid est, quod aut populo Rom. gratus esse debeat, aut socijs exterisq; nationibus oporatus esse possit, aut saluti fortunisq; omnium accommodatus sit? — Quis tandem esset qui meum concilium aut factum posset reprehendere?

*“ I appeal to Heaven and Earth, whether
“ I could have done more for the Benefit of
“ the Publick in this its woful Distress? —
“ What more agreeable to the Interest and the
“ Wishes of our People at Home, what more
“ conducive to our Reputation Abroad, or what
“ more desirable for the Security of the Universal Rights and Properties of all Men? What
“ Falshood have I utter'd, what Evil Counsel have I given, and do the Innocent accuse me?*

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The FOURTH
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IN THE
LONDON JOURNAL.

To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

April 1. 1721.



Am going to present to you, and the Town, by your Means, with the most valuable Performance of all Antiquity: It is not likely that it ever had, or ever will have, its Fellow. The Author of it was, perhaps, the most amiable Character, the most accomplish'd Man, that ever the World saw.

*Excellent Brutus! of all Human Race
The Best!*

Cowley:

B

Ho

He was the Author of that glorious Letter which I now send you, in *English*. It was written by the greatest Man upon the noblest Subject; *BRUTUS* upon *LIBERTY*. It was sent to *Cicero*, and the Occasion this:

Octavius Caesar, afterwards call'd *Augustus*, having defeated *Mark Anthony* before *Modena*, and by that Means rais'd the Siege of that Place, began now to conceive higher Designs than he had yet shewn: He had hitherto declared for the Common-wealth, and seem'd to act for it; the Senate having trusted him with an Army, by the Perswasion and Interest of *Cicero*. But after this Victory over *Anthony*, he began to set up for himself, and to meditate the Revenge of his Uncle, and Father by Adoption, *Julius Caesar*; and finally, to pave himself a Way to absolute Monarchy. He knew well that *Brutus* and *Cassius* would never, while they liv'd, suffer him to possess what they would not suffer the first *Caesar* to enjoy; and therefore, to succeed his Uncle, he must destroy them.

But *Cicero*, who equally lov'd and admir'd *Brutus*, and pretended to great Power over the Mind of the young *Caesar*, undertook to write to him in Favour of the Patrons of Liberty, who slew his Uncle, to seek their Pardon; especially a Pardon for *Brutus*, that he might return to *Rome*, and be there in Safety. This Letter of *Cicero's* contained in it also Thanks to *Octavius* for his Services to the Republick, and was intirely unknown to *Brutus*; but being informed of it by *Atticus*, he took extreme Offence at this Step of *Cicero's*, which seemed to him a Confession of Sovereignty in *Octavius*, by not only owning him Master of the Lives of the *Romans* in general, but of his too, who was the Deliverer of the *Romans*, and scorn'd to owe Life to *Octavius*.

Brutus had another Spirit, and other Views: He remember'd the bold and free Words of the great *Cato*, his Uncle, to those of his Friends, who offer'd to procure for him the Mercy of *Caesar*, by throwing themselves, on his Behalf, at *Caesar's* Feet

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— No, Gentlemen, says *Caro*, I scorn to be beholding to Tyranny. I am as free as *Cæsar*; and shall I owe my Life to him, who has no Right even to my Submission!

Brutus found Reason to resent that *Cicero* should, without his Knowledge, thus treat him as a Criminal, and *Cæsar* as a Sovereign, by begging of *Cæsar* Mercy for *Brutus*. That Resentment gave Occasion to this Letter; in which he treats *Octavius* as a raw Lad, and *Cicero* as a weak and fearful Man. The Reasoning thro' the Whole, shews *Brutus* to have been animated by a most sublime and glorious Spirit of Virtue and Liberty; and is so stupendiously strong, that his Eloquence must have been great as his Soul; and yet that great Soul was not so dear to him as Liberty.

I am, S I R,

Your old Friend,

C A T O.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

I Have seen, by the Favour of *Atticus*, that Part which concerns me, in your Letter to *Octavius*. The Affection you there express for my Person, and the Pains you take for my Safety, are great; but they give me no new Joy: Your kind Offices are become as habitual for me to receive, as for you to bestow; and by your daily Words and Actions on my Behalf, I have daily Instances of your generous Regard for my self and my Reputation.

However, all this hinders not but that the above-mention'd Article of your Letters to *Octavius*, pierc'd me with as sensible a Grief as my Soul is capable of feeling. In thanking him for his Services to the Republick, you have chosen a Stile which shews such Lowness and Submission, as do but too clearly declare that you have still a Master; and that the old Tyranny, which we thought destroy'd, is reviv'd in a new Tyrant. What shall

‘ I say to you upon this sad Head? I am cover’d
 ‘ with Confusion for your shameful Condition, but
 ‘ you have brought it upon your self; and I cannot
 ‘ help shewing you to your self in this wretched
 ‘ Circumstance.

‘ You have petition’d *Octavius* to have Mercy up-
 ‘ on me, and to save my Life ——— In this you
 ‘ intend my Good, but sought my Misery, and a
 ‘ Lot worse than Death, by saving me from it;
 ‘ since there is no Kind of Death but is more eli-
 ‘ gible to me than a Life so sav’d. Be so good to
 ‘ recollect a little the Terms of your Letter; and
 ‘ having weigh’d them as you ought, can you deny
 ‘ that they are conceiv’d in the low Stile of an hum-
 ‘ ble Petition from a Slave to his haughty Lord,
 ‘ from a Subject to a King? You tell *Octavius*, that
 ‘ you have a Request to make him, and humbly
 ‘ hope he will please graciously to grant it; name-
 ‘ ly, to save those Citizens who are esteemed by
 ‘ Men of Condition, and belov’d by the People of
 ‘ *Rome*. This is your honourable Request; but
 ‘ what if he should not grant it, but refuse to save
 ‘ us? Can we be sav’d by no other Expedient?
 ‘ Certainly, Destruction it self is preferable to Life
 ‘ by his Favour.

‘ I am not, however, so desponding, as to ima-
 ‘ gine that Heaven is so offended with the *Roman*
 ‘ People, or so bent upon their Ruin, that you should
 ‘ thus choose, in your Prayers, to apply rather to
 ‘ *Octavius*, than to the immortal Gods, for the
 ‘ Preservation, I do not say of the Deliverers of
 ‘ the whole Earth, but even for the Preservation of
 ‘ the meanest *Roman Citizen*. This is a high Tune
 ‘ to talk in, but I have a Pleasure in it: It becomes
 ‘ me to shew that I scorn to pray to those whom I
 ‘ scorn to fear.

‘ Has then *Octavius* Power to save us, or destroy
 ‘ us? And while you thus own him to be a Ty-
 ‘ rant, can you yet own your self his Friend? And
 ‘ if you are mine, can you desire to see me in *Rome*,
 ‘ and at the Mercy of an Usurper? And yet, that
 ‘ this

' this wou'd be my Case, you avow, by imploring
 ' from a giddy Boy, my Permission to return. You
 ' have been rendering him a World of Thanks, and
 ' making him many Compliments ; pray how come
 ' they to be due to him, if he yet wants to be
 ' petition'd for our Lives, and if our Liberty de-
 ' pends upon his Sufferance ? Are we bound to think
 ' it a Condescension in *Octavius*, that he chuses these
 ' our Petitions should rather be made to him than
 ' to *Anthony* ? And are not such low Supplications
 ' the proper Addresses to a Tyrant ? And yet shall
 ' we, who boldly destroy'd one, be ever brought
 ' basely to supplicate another ? And can we, who
 ' are the Deliverers of the Common-wealth, de-
 ' scend to ask what no Man ought to have it in his
 ' Power to give ?

' Consider the mournful Effects of that Dread
 ' and Despondency of yours, in our publick Strug-
 ' gles ; in which, however, you have too many to
 ' keep you in Countenance. The Common-wealth
 ' has been lost, because it was given for lost. Hence
 ' *Cæsar* was first inspired with the Lust of Domini-
 ' on ; hence *Mark Anthony*, not terrify'd by the
 ' Doom of the Tyrant, pants and hurries on to suc-
 ' ceed him in his Tyranny ; and hence this *Octavi-
 ' us*, this green Usurper, is started into such a Pitch
 ' of Power, that the Chiefs of the Common-wealth,
 ' and the Saviours of their Country, must depend,
 ' for their Breath, upon his Pleasure ——— Yes,
 ' we must owe our Lives to the Mercy of a *Minor*,
 ' softened by the Prayers of aged Senators.

' Alas, we are no longer *Romans* ; if we were,
 ' the virtuous Spirit of Liberty would have been an
 ' easy Over-match for the traiterous Attempts of the
 ' worst of all Men grasping after Tyranny ; nor
 ' would even *Mark Anthony*, the rash and enterpri-
 ' zing *Mark Anthony*, have been so fond of *Cæsar's*
 ' Power, as frighten'd by *Cæsar's* Fate.

' Remember the important Character you su-
 ' stain, and the great Post you have fill'd : You are
 ' a Senator of *Rome*, and you have been Consul of
Rome ;

' *Rome*; you have defeated Conspiracies, and de-
 ' stroyed Conspirators. Is not *Rome* still as dear to
 ' you as she was? Or, is your Courage and Vigi-
 ' lance less? And is not the Occasion greater? Or,
 ' could you suppress great Traytors, and yet tolerate
 ' greater? Recollect what you ought to do, by
 ' what you have done. Whence proceeded your
 ' Enmity to *Anthony*? Was it not that he had an
 ' Enmity to Liberty, had seized violently on the
 ' Publick, assumed the Disposal of Life and Death
 ' into his own Hands, and set up for the sole Sove-
 ' reign of all Men? Were not these the Reasons of
 ' your Enmity, and of your Advice to combat Vio-
 ' lence by Violence, and to kill him rather than
 ' submit to him? All this was well ——— But why
 ' must Resistance be drop'd, when there is a fresh
 ' Call for Resistance? Has your Courage failed you;
 ' or, was it not permitted to *Anthony* to enslave us,
 ' but *Another* may? As if the Nature of Servitude
 ' was chang'd by changing Names and Persons. No
 ' ——— we do not dispute about the Qualificati-
 ' ons of a Master; we will have no Master.

' It is certain we might, under *Anthony*, have
 ' gone large Shares with him in the Administration
 ' of despotick Power; we might have divided its
 ' Dignities, and shone in its Trappings. He would
 ' have received us graciously, and met us half Way.
 ' He knew that either our Concurrence or Acquies-
 ' cence wou'd have confirm'd him Monarch of *Rome*;
 ' and at what Price wou'd he not have purchas'd
 ' either? But all his Arts, all his Temptations, all
 ' his Offers were rejected: Liberty was our Pur-
 ' pose, and Virtue our Rule: Our Views were ho-
 ' nest and universal; *Our Country and the Cause of*
 ' *Mankind*.

' With *Octavius* himself there is still a Way open
 ' for an Accommodation, if we chose it. As eager
 ' as the Name of *Cesar* has made that raw Stickler
 ' for Empire, to destroy those who destroy'd *Cesar*;
 ' yet doubtless he would give us good Articles to
 ' gain our Consent to that Power to which he a-

spires

spires, and to which, I fear, he will arrive: Alas, what is there to hinder him? While we only attend to the Love of Life, and the Impulses of Ambition; while we can purchase Posts and Dignities with the Price of Liberty, and think Danger more dreadful than Slavery; what remains to save us?

What was the End of our killing the Tyrant, but to be free from Tyranny? — A ridiculous Motive, and an empty Exploit; if our Slavery survives him! — Oh, who is it that makes Liberty his Care? Liberty, which ought to be the Care of all Men, as 'tis the Benefit and Blessing of all! For my self, rather than give it up, I will stand single in its Defence. I cannot lose, but with my Life, my Resolution to maintain in Freedom my Country, which I have set free: I have destroyed a Veteran Tyrant; and shall I suffer, in a raw Youth, his Heir, a Power to controul the Senate, supersede the Laws, and put Chains on *Rome*? A Power, which no personal Favours, nor even the Ties of Blood, could ever sanctify to me; a Power which I could not bear in *Cæsar*; nor, if my Father had usurp'd it, could I have borne him.

Your Petition to *Octavius* is a Confession that we cannot enjoy the Liberty of *Rome* without his Leave: And can you dream that other Citizens are free, where *we* could not live free? Besides, having made your Request, how is it to be fulfilled? You beg him to give us our Lives; and what if he does? Are we therefore safe because we live? Is there any Safety without Liberty; or rather can we poorly live having lost it, and with it our Honour and Glory? Is there any Security in living at *Rome*, when *Rome* is no longer free? That City, great as it is, having no Security of her own, can give me none — No, I will owe mine to my Resolution and my Sword; I cannot enjoy Life at the Mercy of another; *Cæsar's* Death alone ascertained my Liberty to me, which

' which before was precarious ; I smote him to be
 ' safe. This is a *Roman* Spirit, and whithersoever I
 ' carry it, every Place will be *Rome* to me, who am
 ' *Roman* enough to prefer every Evil to Chains and
 ' Infamy, which to a *Roman* are the highest of all
 ' Evils. I thought we had been released from these
 ' mighty Evils, by the Death of him who brought
 ' them upon us ; but it seems we are not ; else why
 ' a servile Petition to a Youth, big with the Name,
 ' and the Ambition of *Cæsar*, for Mercy to those Pa-
 ' triots, who generously revenged their Country
 ' upon that Tyrant, and cleared the World of his
 ' Tyranny ? It was not in the Common-wealths of
 ' *Greece*, where the Children of Tyrants suffered e-
 ' qually with their Fathers, the Punishment of Ty-
 ' ranny.

' Can I then have any Appetite to see *Rome* ? Or,
 ' can *Rome* be said to be *Rome* ? We have slain her
 ' Tyrant, we have restored her ancient Liberty :
 ' But they are Favours thrown away ; she is made
 ' free in Spite of her self ; and tho' she has seen a
 ' great and terrible Tyrant bereft of his Grandeur
 ' and his Life, by a few of her Citizens ; yet base-
 ' ly desponding of her own Strength, she impotent-
 ' ly dreads the Name of a dead Tyrant, revived in
 ' the Person of a Stripling.

' No more of your Petitions to your young *Cæsar*,
 ' on my Behalf ; nor, if you are wise, on your own.
 ' You have not many Years to live ; do not be
 ' shewing that you over-rate the short Remains of
 ' an honourable Life, by making preposterous and
 ' dishonourable Court to a Boy. Take Care that
 ' by this Conduct you do not eclipse the Lustre of
 ' all your glorious Actions against *Mark Anthony* :
 ' Do not turn your Glory into Reproach, by giving
 ' the Malicious a Handle to say, that Self-Love was
 ' the sole Motive of your Bitterness to him ; and
 ' that, had you not dreaded him, you would not
 ' have opposed him : And yet will they not say this,
 ' if they see that having declar'd War against *An-*
 ' *thony*, you notwithstanding leave Life and Liberty

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'at the Mercy of *Octavius*, and tolerate in him all
'the Power which the other claimed? They will
'say that you are not against having a Master, on-
'ly you would not have *Anthony* for a Master.

'I well approve your Praises given to *Octavius*
'for his Behaviour thus far; it is indeed Praise-wor-
'thy; provided his only Intention has been to pull
'down the Tyranny of *Anthony*, without establish-
'ing a Tyranny of his own. But if you are of O-
'pinion that *Octavius* is in such a Situation of Pow-
'er, that it is necessary to approach him with hum-
'ble Supplications to save our Lives, and that it is
'convenient he should be trusted with this Power;
'I can only say, that you list the Reward of his
'Merits far above his Merits: I thought all his
'Services were Services done to the *Republick*; but
'you have conferred upon him that absolute and
'imperial Power which he pretended to recover to
'the *Republick*.

'If, in your Judgment, *Octavius* has earned such
'Laurels and Recompences for making War against
'*Anthony's* Tyranny, which was only the Effects
'and Remains of *Cesar's* Tyranny; to what Di-
'stinctions, to what Rewards would you intitle
'those who exterminated, with *Cesar*, the Tyranny
'of *Cesar*, for which they felt the Blessings and
'Bounty of the *Roman* People? Has this never en-
'tered into your Thoughts? Behold here how effec-
'tually the Terrors of Evils to come, extinguishes
'in the Minds of Men all Impressions of Benefits
'receiv'd! *Cesar* is dead, and will never return to
'shackle or frighten the City of *Rome*; so he is no
'more thought of, nor are they who delivered that
'City from him. But *Anthony* is still alive, and still
'in Arms, and still terrifies; and so *Octavius* is a-
'dor'd, who beat *Anthony*. Hence it is that *Octavi-*
'*us* is become of such potent Consequence, that
'from his Mouth the *Roman* People must expect our
'Doom, the Doom of their Deliverers! And hence
'it is too, that we (those Deliverers) are of such
'humble Note, that he must be supplicated to give
'us our Lives!

C

: I

' I, as I said, have a Soul, and I have a Sword ;
 ' and am an Enemy to such abject Supplications ;
 ' so great an Enemy, that I detest those that use
 ' them, and am an avowed Foe to him that expects
 ' them. I shall at least be far away from the odi-
 ' ous Company of Slaves ; and where-ever I find
 ' Liberty, there I will find *Rome*. And for you that
 ' stay behind, who, not satiated with many Years,
 ' and many Honours, can behold Liberty extinct,
 ' and Vertue, with us, in Exile, and yet are not
 ' sick of a wretched and precarious Life ; I heartily
 ' pity you. For my self, whose Soul has never ebb'd
 ' from its constant Principles, I shall ever be happy
 ' in the Consciousness of my Virtue ; owing no-
 ' thing to my Country, towards which I have faith-
 ' fully discharged my Duty, I shall possess my Mind
 ' in Peace, and find the Reward of well-doing in
 ' the Satisfaction of having done it. What greater
 ' Pleasure does the World afford, than to despise
 ' the slippery Uncertainties of Life, and to value
 ' that only which is only valuable, private Virtue,
 ' and publick Liberty ; that Liberty, which is the
 ' Blessing, and ought to be the Birth-right of all
 ' Mankind ?

' But still, I will never sink with those who are
 ' already falling ; I will never yield with those
 ' who have a Mind to submit ; I am resolved to be
 ' always firm and independent : I will try all Expe-
 ' dients ; I will exert my utmost Prowess, to banish
 ' Servitude, and set my Country entirely free. If
 ' Fortune favours me, as she ought, the Blessing and
 ' Joy will be every Man's ; but if she fails me, and
 ' my best Endeavours are thrown away, yet still I
 ' will rejoice single ; and so far be too hard for
 ' Fortune. What, in short, can my Life be better
 ' laid out in, than in continual Schemes, and re-
 ' peated Efforts, for the common Liberty of my
 ' Country ?

' As to your Part in this Crisis, my dear *Cicero*, it
 ' is my strongest Advice and Request to you, not to
 ' desert your self : Do not distrust your Ability, and
 ' your

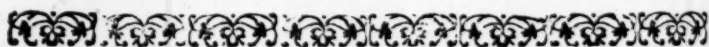
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' your Ability will not disappoint you ; believe you
 ' can remedy our heavy Evils, and you will reme-
 ' dy them. Our Miseries want no Encrease : Pre-
 ' vent, therefore, by your Vigilance, any new Ac-
 ' cession. Formerly, in Quality of Consul, you de-
 ' feated, with great Boldness and Warmth for Li-
 ' berty, a formidable Conspiracy against *Rome*, and
 ' saved the Common-wealth ; and what you did
 ' then against *Cataline*, you do still against *Anthony*.
 ' These Actions of yours have raised your Reputati-
 ' on high, and spread it far ; but it will be all tar-
 ' nished or lost, if you do not continue to shew an
 ' equal Firmness upon as great an Occasion ; let
 ' this render all the Parts of your Life equal,
 ' and secure Immortality to that Glory of yours,
 ' which ought to be immortal.

' From those, who, like you, have performed
 ' great Actions, as great or greater are expected :
 ' By shewing that they can serve the Publick, they
 ' make themselves its Debtors ; and it is apt to ex-
 ' act strict Payment, and to use them severely if
 ' they do not pay : But from those who have per-
 ' formed no such Actions, we expect none. This
 ' is the Difference betwixt the Lot of unknown
 ' Talents, and of those which have been try'd ; and
 ' the Condition of the latter is no doubt the hard-
 ' er. Hence it is, that tho' in making Head against
 ' *Anthony*, you have merited and received great and
 ' just Praises ; yet you have gain'd no new Admi-
 ' ration : By so doing, you only continued, like a
 ' worthy *Consular*, the known Character of a great
 ' and able *Consul*. But if now at last you begin to
 ' sacrifice your Principles, and truckle to one as bad
 ' as him ; if you abate ever so little in that Vigour
 ' of Mind, and that steady Courage, by which you
 ' expelled him from the Senate, and drove him out
 ' of *Rome* ; you will never reap another Harvest of
 ' Glory, whatever you may deserve ; and even
 ' your past Laurels will wither, and your past Re-
 ' nown be forgot.

‘ There is nothing great or noble in Events, which
 ‘ are the Fruit of Passion or Chance : True Fame
 ‘ results only from the steady Perseverance of Rea-
 ‘ son in the Paths and Pursuits of Virtue. The Care,
 ‘ therefore of the Common-wealth, and the Defence of
 ‘ her Liberties, belong to you above all Men, because
 ‘ you have done more than all Men for Liberty
 ‘ and the Common-wealth : Your great Abilities,
 ‘ your known Zeal, your famous Actions, with the
 ‘ united Call and Expectation of all Men, are your
 ‘ Motives in this great Affair ; would you have
 ‘ greater ?

‘ You are not therefore to supplicate *Octavius* for
 ‘ our Safety ; do a braver Thing, owe it to your
 ‘ own Magnanimity. Rouze the *Roman* Genius
 ‘ within you ; and consider that this great and free
 ‘ City, which you more than once saved, will always
 ‘ be great and free, provided her People do not
 ‘ want worthy Chiefs to resist Usurpation, and
 ‘ exterminate Traytors.



To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

April 8. 1721.

I Have observed, in a former Letter, that the Peo-
 ple, when they are not misled or corrupted, do
 generally make a sound Judgment of Things. They
 have natural Qualifications equal to their Superiors ;
 and there is oftener found a great Genius carrying a
 Pitch-fork, than carrying a White-Staff. The poor
 Cook preferr'd by the *Grand Signior* to be his first *Vizier*,
 in order to cure the publick Disorder and Confusi-
 on, occasioned by the Ignorance, Corruption and
 Neglect of the former Ministry, made good effectually
 his own Promise, and did Credit to his Master's
 Choice : He remedied the publick Disorders, and
 proved, says Sir Paul Ricaut, an able and excellent
 Minister of State.

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Besides, there are not such mighty Talents requisite for Government, as some, who pretend to them without possessing them, would make us believe: Honest Affections, and common Qualifications, are sufficient; and the Administration has been always best executed, and the publick Liberty best preserved, near the Origin and Rise of States, when plain Honesty and common Sense alone governed the publick Affairs, and Mens Morals were not corrupted with Riches and Luxury, nor their Understandings perverted by Subtleties and Distinctions. Great Abilities have, for the most Part, if not always, been employ'd to mislead the honest, but unwary Multitude, and to draw them out of the open and plain Paths of publick Virtue and publick Good.

The People have no Byass to be Knaves; the Security of their Persons and Property is their highest Aim. No Ambition prompts them; they cannot come to be great Lords, and to possess great Titles, and therefore desire none. No aspiring or unsociable Passions incite them; they have no Rivals for Place, no Competitor to pull down; they have no darling Child, Pimp, or Relation to raise: They have no Occasion for Dissimulation or Intrigue; they can serve no End by Faction; they have no Interest but the general Interest.

The same can rarely be said of Great Men, who, to gratify private Passion, often bring down publick Ruin; who, to fill their private Purses with many Thousands, frequently load the People with many Millions; who oppress for a Mistress, and to save a Favourite, destroy a Nation; who too often make the Publick sink and give way to their private Fortune; and for a publick Pleasure, create a general Calamity. Besides, being educated in Debauchery, and pamper'd in Rior and Luxury, they have no Sense of other Mens Misfortunes, nor Tenderness for those that suffer them: They have no Notion of Miseries which they do not feel. There is a Nation in *Europe*, which, within the Space of an Hundred Years last past, has been blessed with Patriots, who,
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void of every Talent and Inclination to do good, and even stinted in their Ability for Roguery, were forced to be beholden, for most of the Mischief they did, to the superior Arts and Abilities of humble Rogues and Brokers.

The first Principles of Power are in the People; and all the Projects of Men in Power ought to refer to the People, and aim solely at their Good, and end in it: And whoever will pretend to govern them without regarding them, will soon repent it. Such Feats of Knight Errantry may do perhaps in *Asia*; but in Countries where the People are free, it is Madness to hope to rule them against their Wills. They will know, that Government is appointed for their Sakes, and will be saucy enough to expect some Regard and some Good from their own Delegates. Those Nations, who are govern'd in spite of themselves, and in a Manner that bids Defiance to their Opinions, their Interest and their Understandings, are either Slaves, or will soon cease to be Subjects.

Dominion, that is not maintained by the Sword, must be maintained by Consent; and in this latter Case, what Security can any Men at the Head of Affairs expect, but from pursuing the Peoples Welfare, and seeking their good Will? The Government of One for the Sake of One, is Tyranny; and so is the Government of a Few for the Sake of Themselves: But Government executed for the Good of All, and with the Consent of All, is LIBERTY; and the Word *Government* is profaned, and its Meaning abus'd, when it signifies any Thing else.

In free Countries, the People know all this. They have their five Senses in as great Perfection, as have those who would treat them as if they had none. They never hate their Governours, till their Governours deserve to be hated; and when this happens to be the Case, not absolute Power it self, nor the Affections of a Prince invested with it, can protect or employ Ministers detested by the People.

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Even the *Grand Signior*, with all his boundless Authority, is frequently forced to give up his first Minister (who is sometimes his Son in Law, or Brother in Law) a Sacrifice to appease the Peoples Rage.

The People, rightly managed, are the best Friends to Princes; and, when injured and oppressed, they are the most formidable Enemies. Princes, who have trusted to their Armies or their Nobility, have been often deceiv'd and ruined; but Princes, who have trusted wholly to the People, have seldom been deceived or deserted: The Reason is, that in all Governments, which are not Violent and Military, the People have more Power than either the Grandees or the Soldiery; and their Friendship is more sincere, as having nothing to desire but Freedom from Oppression. And whilst a Prince is thus beloved by his People, it will rarely happen that any can be so rash and precipitate as to conspire against him, and such Conspiracies have never the intended Success: but, as *Machiavel* well observes, *When the People are dissatisfied, and have taken a Prejudice against their Governours, there is no Thing, nor Person they ought not to fear.*

It is therefore of vast Importance to preserve the Affections of the People, even in those Governments where they have no Share in the Administration. The wise States of *Holland* are so apprized of the Truth of this Maxim, that they have preserved themselves and their State by religiously observing it. Their Government consists of many little Aristocracies, where the Magistrates chuse each other, and the People have nothing to do; but in Spirit and Effect it is a Democracy, and the Dispositions and Inclinations of the People have above all Things the greatest Weight in their Counsels. The Jealousy of the People makes a vigilant Magistracy, who are honest out of Fear of provoking them; and, by never doing it, are in great Safety.

But Thanks be to Heaven and our worthy Ancestors, our Liberties are better secured. We have a Constitution, in which the People have a large Share;

Share : They are one Part of the Legislature, and have the sole Power of giving Money ; which includes in it every Thing they can ask for the publick Good ; and the Representatives, being neither aw'd nor bribed, will always act for their Country's Interest ; their own being so interwoven with the Peoples Happinefs, that they must stand and fall together.

But what if our Delegates should not be suffered to meet ; or when met, should be so awed by Force, (as formerly in *Denmark*) or so corrupted by Places and Pensions (as in the Reign of *Charles the Second*) as to be ready to give up the publick Liberty, and betray the Interest of their Principals to secure their own ? This we may be sure can never happen under his Majesty's most just and gentle Reign : However, it has happen'd formerly ; and what has been, may be again, in future Reigns.

What, in such a Case is to be done ? What Remedies have our Laws provided against so fatal a Mischief ? Must the People patiently crouch under the heaviest of all Evils ? Or has our Constitution pointed out the Means of Redress ? It would be absurd to suppose that it has not ; and, in effect, the People have a legal Remedy at Hand : It is their undoubted Right, and acknowledged to be so in the *Bill of Rights* passed in the Reign of *King Charles the First* ; and since, by the Act of the Settlement of the Crown at the *Revolution* ; humbly to represent their publick Grievances, and to petition for Redress to those whose Duty it is to right them, or to see them righted : And it is certain, that in all Countries, the People's Misfortunes are greater or less, in proportion as this Right is encouraged or checked.

It is indeed the best, and the only just, Way they can take to breathe their Grievances ; and, whenever this Way has been taken, especially when it has been universally taken, our Kings have always accepted so powerful an Application. Our Parliaments too, who are the Keepers and Barriers of our Liber-

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Liberty, have shewn themselves ready and willing to receive the modest Complaints and Representations of their Principals, and to apply quick Remedies to the Grievances contained in them. It has, indeed, been always thought highly imprudent, not to say dangerous, to resist the general Groans and Entreaties of the People, uttered in this Manner.

This has been a Method, which has always had great Weight with good Men, and has been always a great Terror to Bad. It has therefore always been encouraged or discouraged, according, to the Innocence or Guilt of Men in Power. A Prince, who minds the Welfare, and desires the Affections of his Subjects, cannot wish for a better Expedient to know how his Servants are approved, and how his Government is liked, than by this way of Countenancing his People in laying their Hearts, their Wishes, and their Requests before him; and Ministers never can be averse to such Representations of the Complaints of the People, unless they have given the People Occasion to complain.

Titus and *Trajan*, conscious of their own virtuous Administration, and worthy Purposes, courted Addresses and Informations of this kind, from their Subjects: They wisely knew, that if the *Roman* People had free Leave to speak, they would not take Leave to act; and that, whilst they could have Redress, they would not seek Revenge.

None but desperate Parricides will make the People desperate.

I am, Dear S I R,

Your Constant Friend,

C A T O.



To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

April 15. 1720.

THE Good of the Governed being the sole End of Government, they must be the greatest and best Governours, who make their People great and happy

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happy; and they the worst, who make their People little, wicked, and miserable. Power in a free State, is a Trust committed by *All* to one or a few, to watch for the Security, and pursue the Interest of *All*: And, when that Security is not sought, nor that Interest obtained, we know what Opinion the People will have of their Governours.

It is the hard Fate of the World, that there should be any Difference in the Views and Interests of the Governours and Governed; and yet it is so in most Countries. Men who have a Trust frankly bestowed upon them by the People, do too frequently betray that Trust, become Conspirators against their Benefactors, and turn the Sword upon those that gave it; insomuch that in the greatest Part of the Earth, People are happy if they can defend themselves against their Defenders.

Let us look round this Great World, and behold what a Part of the Whole Race of Men do crouch under the Yoke of a few Tyrants, naturally as low as the meanest of themselves, and, by being Tyrants, worse than the worst; who, as Mr. Sydney observes, *use their Subjects like Asses and Mastiff Dogs, to work, and to fight, to be oppressed and killed for them.* Even the good Qualities and Courage of such Subjects are their Misfortune, by strengthening the wicked Hands of their brutal Masters, and strengthening their own Chains. Tyrants consider their People as their Cattle, and use them worse as they fear them more. Thus the most of Mankind are become the wretched Slaves of those, who are or should be their own Creatures; they maintain their haughty Masters like Gods, and their haughty Masters often use them like Dogs: A fine Specimen of Gratitude and Duty!

And yet this cruel Spirit in Tyrants is not always owing naturally to the Men, since they are naturally like other Men; but it is owing to the Nature of the Dominion they exercise. Good Laws make a good Prince, if he has a good Understanding; but the best Men grow mischievous when they are

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set above Laws. *Claudius* was a very harmless Man, while he was a private Man ; but when he came to be a Tyrant, he proved a bloody One, almost as bloody as his Nephew and Predecessor *Caligula* ; who had also been a very good Subject, but as soon as he came to be the *Roman* Emperor, grew at the same Time the professed Executioner of Mankind.

There is something so wanton and monstrous in lawless Power, that there scarce ever was a human Spirit that could bear it ; and the Mind of Man, which is weak and limited, ought never to be trusted with a Power that is boundless. The State of Tyranny is a State of War ; and where it prevails, instead of an Intercourse of Confidence and Affection, as between a lawful Prince and his Subjects, nothing is to be seen but Jealousie, Mistrust, Fear and Hatred : An Arbitrary Prince and his Slaves often destroy one another to be safe ; They are plotting against his Life, and He is continually shedding their Blood, and plundering them of their Property.

Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet.

I think it was *Justinian*, the Emperor, who said, *though we are above the Law, yet we live according to the Law* : But by his Majesty's Favour, there was more Turn than Truth in the Saying ; for Princes that think themselves above Law, act almost constantly against all Law ; of which Truth *Justinian* himself is a known Instance. Good Princes never think themselves above it.

It is an affecting Observation, that the Power given for the Protection of the World should, in so many Places, be turned to the Destruction of it. "As if the Law was in Force for *their* Destruction, and not for *their* Preservation ; that it should have Power to kill, but not to protect *them* : A Thing no less horrid, than if the Sun should burn us without lighting us, or the Earth serve only to bury, and not to feed and nourish us," says Mr. *Waller* in a Speech of his in Parliament.

Despotick Power has defaced the Creation, and laid the World waste. In the finest Countries in *Asia*, formerly full of People, you are now forced to travel by the Compass: There are no Roads, Houses, nor Inhabitants. The Sun is left to scorch up the Grass and Fruits which he had rais'd; or the Rain to rot them: The Gifts of God are left to perish; there being none of his Creatures, neither Man nor Beast, left to use and consume them. The *Grand Signior*, who (if we may believe some sanctified Mouths, not addicted to Lying,) is the Vicegerent of Heaven, frustrates the Bounty of Heaven; and being the Father of his People, has almost butcher'd them all. Those few (comparatively, very few) who have yet surviv'd the miserable Fate of their Brethren, and are reserv'd for Sacrifices to his Cruelty, as Occasion offers, and his Lust prompts him, live the starving and wretched Property of ravenous and bloody *Bashaws*; whose Duty to their Master, as well as their own Avarice, obliges them to keep the People, over whom they preside, poor and miserable.

But neither *Bashaws*, nor Armies, could keep that People in such abject Slavery, if their Priests and Doctors had not made Passive Obedience a Principle of their Religion. The holy Name of God is prophaned, and his Authority belied, to bind down Wretchedness upon his Creatures, and to secure the Tyrant that does it. The most consummate of all Wickedness, and the highest of all Evils, are sanctified by the Teachers of Religion, and made by them a Part of it. Yes, *Turkish* Slavery is confirm'd, and *Turkish* Tyranny defended by Religion!

Sir Paul Ricaut tells us, that the *Turks* maintain, that the *Grand Signior* can never be deposed, or made accountable for his Crimes, whilst he destroys carelessly of his Subjects under a Hundred a Day; and 'tis made Martyrdom to die submissively by the Hand of the Tyrant; and some of his highest Slaves have declared, that they wanted only that Honour to compleat their Felicity. They hold, that it is their Duty to submit,

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tho' their Tyrant commands a whole Army of them to precipitate themselves from a Rock, or to build a Bridge with Piles of their Bodies for him to pass a River, or to kill one another to afford him Pastime and Pleasure.

Merciful God! Is this Government? And do such Governours govern by Authority from Thee?

It is scarce credible what *Monsieur de L'Estaille* tells us; He says, he travelled in the *Indies*, for above twenty Days together, through Lanes of People hang'd upon Trees, by Command of the King; who had ordered above a Hundred Thousand of them to be thus murdered and gibbeted, only because Two or Three Robberies had been committed amongst them. *Bayle, Reponse a Quest. d'un Provin. Tom. 1. p. 595.*

It is one of the great Evils of Servitude, that let the Tyranny be ever so severe, 'tis always flatter'd; and the more severe 'tis, the more 'tis flatter'd. The Oppressors of Mankind are flatter'd beyond all others; because Fear and Servitude naturally produce, as well as have recourse to Flattery, as the best Means of Self-Preservation; whereas Liberty, having no Occasion for it, scorns it. *Sir Paul Ricaut* ascribes the Decay of the *Ottoman Empire* to the Force of Flattery, and calls the *Turkish Court* a *Prison and Banniard of Slaves*.

Old *Muly*, the Lord's Anointed of *Morocco*, who it seems is still alive, is thought to have butchered Forty Thousand of his Subjects, with his own Hands — Such a Father is he of his People! And yet his Right to shed human Blood being a genuine Characteristick of the Church of *Morocco*, as by Law established, People are greedy to die by his Hand; which, they are taught to imagine, dispatches them forthwith to Paradise: Insomuch, that tho', as I am told, every Time he mounts his Horse, he slices off the Head of the Slave that holds his Stirrup, to shew that he is as good an Executioner as he is a Horseman, yet there is a constant Contention among his Slaves who shall be the happy Martyr on that Occasion; so that several of them crowding
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to his Stirrup at once, for the gracious Favour, his Majesty has sometimes the Honour to cut off Two Heads, and make two Saints with one Blow.

The Exercise of despotick Power is the unrelenting War of an armed Tyrant upon his unarmed Subjects; it is a War of one Side, and in it there is neither Peace nor Truce. *Tacitus* describes it

— *Sæva Fussa, continus accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem Innocentium* — “Cruel and bloody Orders, continual Accusations, faithless Friendships, and the Destruction of Innocents.” In another Place he says, “that *Italy* was one continual Shambles, and most of its fair Cities were defaced or overthrown; *Rome* it self was in many Places laid in Ashes, with the greatest Part of its Magnificent Buildings: Virtue was despis’d, and barefaced Debauchery prevail’d. The solitary Islands were filled with illustrious Exiles, and the very Rocks were stained with Slaughters: But, in the City it self, Cruelty rag’d still more; it was dangerous to be Noble, it was a Crime to be Rich; it was capital to have born Honours, and High-Treason to have refused them; and for Virtue and Merit, they brought sure and sudden Death.” These were some of the Ravages of absolute Dominion! And to the common People, the same Author says, “they were debauched and dispirited, and given up to Idleness and seeing Shews.”

Plebs sordida Circo & Theatris sueta.

Oh! abject State of such as tamely groan
Under a blind Dependency on One!

Late Duke of Devonshire.

This is a sort of Government, which is too great and heavy a Curse for any one to wish, even upon those who are foolish enough, or wicked enough, to contend for its Lawfulness; for, which is the same Thing, for Submission to it: But surely, if ever any Man deserv’d to feel the merciless Gripes of Tyranny, it is he who is an Advocate for it. *Phalaris* acted justly, when he hanfel’d his Brazen Bull with the Wretch who invented it,

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As Arbitrary Power in a single Person has made greater Havock in human Nature, and thin'd Mankind more than all the Beasts of Prey, and all the Plagues and Earthquakes that ever were; let those Men consider what they have to answer for, who would countenance such a monstrous Evil in the World, or would oppose those that would oppose it. A Bear, a Lyon, or a Tyger may now and then pick up single Men in a Wood or a Desert; and an Earthquake sometimes may bury a Thousand or Two Inhabitants in the Ruins of a Town; and the Pestilence may once in many Years carry off a much greater Number: But a Tyrant shall, out of a wanton personal Passion, carry Fire and Sword through a whole Continent, and deliver up a hundred thousand of his Fellow Creatures to the Slaughter in one Day, without any Remorse or further Notice, than that *they died for his Glory*. I say nothing of the moral Effect of Tyranny, though 'tis certain that Ignorance, Vice, Poverty and Vileness, always attend it.

He who compares the World now with what it was formerly, how populous once, how thin now; and considers the Cause of this doleful Alteration, will find just Reason to fear, that Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny, if they go on much longer, will utterly extinguish human Race. Of *Turkey* I have spoken already: The great Continent of *America* is almost unpeopled, the *Spaniards* having destroy'd, 'tis thought, above forty Millions of its Natives; and for some Kingdoms in *Europe*, especially towards the North, I do not believe they have now half so many Inhabitants they had so lately as a hundred Years ago.

Blessed be God, there are still some free Countries in *Europe*, that abound with People and with Plenty, and *England* with the foremost. This demonstrates the inestimable Blessing of Liberty. Can we ever over-rate it, or be too jealous of a Treasure which includes in it almost all human Felicities? Or can we encourage too much, those that contend for it, and
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those that promote it? It is the Parent of Virtue, Pleasure, Plenty, and Security; and 'tis innocent as well as lovely. In all Contentions between Liberty and Power, the latter has almost constantly been the Aggressor. Liberty, if ever it produces any Evils, does also cure them: Its worst Effect, Licentiousness, never does, and never can continue long. Anarchy cannot be of much Duration; and where 'tis so, it is the Child and Companion of Tyranny; which is not Government, but a Dissolution of it, as Tyrants are the Enemies of Mankind.

Power is like Fire; it warms, scorches, or destroys, according as it is watched, provoked, or increas'd. It is as useful as dangerous. Its only Rule is the Good of the People; but because it's apt to break its Bounds, in all good Governments nothing, or as little as may be, ought to be left to Chance, or the Humours of Men in Authority: All should proceed by fixt and stated Rules; and upon any Emergency new Rules should be made. And this is the Constitution, and this the Happiness of *Englishmen*, as has been formerly shewn at large in these Letters.

We have a Constitution that abhors Absolute Power; we have a King that does not desire it; and we are a People that will never suffer it: No free People will ever submit to it, unless it steals upon them by Treachery, or they are driven into it by Violence. But a State can never be too secure against this terrible, this last of all human Evils; which may be brought upon them by many Causes, even by some that at first Sight do not seem to threaten any such Thing: And of all those Causes, none seems more boding than a general Distress, which certainly produces general Discontent, the Parent of Revolutions; and in what such a Circumstance of Affairs may end, no Man can ever foresee: Few are brought about without Armies, a Remedy almost always worse than the Disease. What is got by Soldiers must be maintained by Soldiers; and we have, in this

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this Paper, already seen the frightful Image of a Military Government ; a Government, which, at best, is violent and bloody, and eternally inconsistent with Law and Property.

It is therefore a dreadful Wickedness to have any share in giving Occasion for those Discontents, which are so apt to burst into Rage and Confusion. A State does sometimes recover out of a Convulsion, and gain new Vigour by it ; but it much oftner expires in it. Heaven preserve me from ever beholding contending Armies in *England* ! They are different Things from what they once were. Our Armies formerly were only a Number of the People arm'd occasionally ; and Armies of the People are the only Armies which are not formidable to the People. Hence it is, that in the many Revolutions occasion'd by the Strife between the Two Royal Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, there was never any Danger of Slavery from keeping up an armed Force : A single Battle decided the Contention, and next Day these popular Soldiers went home and resumed their ordinary Arms, the Tools of Husbandry. But since that time, Armies have not been so easily parted with ; but after the Danger was over for which they were rais'd, they have often been obstinately kept up, and by that Means created Dangers still as great.

Some Quacks in Politicks may perhaps venture publick Disturbances, out of an Opinion that they shall be able to prevent them by Art, or suppress them by Force. But this shews their Capacity as well as their Wickedness : For not to mention the Malignity of their Hearts in risking publick Ruin, to gratify a private Appetite ; how can any Event be certainly foreseen, when the Measure of the Cause cannot be certainly known ? They can never ascertain the Degree of Opposition ; they cannot foreknow what Circumstances may happen, nor in whose Hands Things may fall. *Cicero* did not dream, when he employ'd *Octavius* for the Commonwealth, that his young Champion for Liberty would ever be the Tyrant of his Country. Who

could foresee that *Cromwel* would enslave those whom he was employ'd to defend? But there is no trusting of Liberty in the Hands of Men, who are obeyed by great Armies.

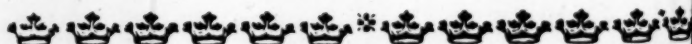
From hence may be seen what a fatal and crying Crime it would be, in any free Country, to break the Confidence between the Prince and his People. When Loyalty is once turned into Indifference, Indifference will be soon turned into Hatred; and Hatred will be returned with Hatred; Resentment may produce Tyranny, and Rage may produce Rebellion. There is no Mischief, which this mutual Mistrust and Aversion may not bring forth. They must therefore be the blackest Traytors, who are the first Authors of so terrible an Evil, as are they who would endeavour to protect them.

Henry the III^d of Castile said, that he feared the Curse of his People more than he did the Arms of his Enemies: In which Saying he shewed as much Wisdom as Humanity; since while he was beloved at Home, he had nothing to fear from Abroad, and the Curses of his Subjects were the likeliest Means to bring upon him the Arms of his Enemies.

I am, Dear S I R,

Your Old Friend,

C A T O



To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

April 22. 1721

I Send you, for the Entertainment of your Reader this Week, two or three Passages out of the great *Algernon Sydney*: An Author, which can never be too much valued or read; an Author, that does Honour to the *English* Nobility, and to the *English* Name; an Author, who has writ better upon Government than any *Englishman*, and as well as any Foreigner; and an Author, who was a Martyr for

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that Liberty, which he has so amiably described and so nobly defended. He fell a Sacrifice to the vile and corrupt Court of our pious *Charles the Second*. He had asserted the Rights of Mankind, and shewed the Odiousness of Tyranny; he had exposed the Absurdity and Vileness of the sacred and fashionable Doctrines of those Days, Passive Obedience and Hereditary Right; Doctrines, which give the Lie to common Sense, and which would destroy all common Happiness and Security amongst Men; Doctrines, which were never practis'd by those that preached them; and Doctrines, which are big with Nonsense, Contradiction, Impossibility, Misery, Wickedness, and Desolation. These were his Crimes, and these his Glory.

The Book is every way excellent; he had read and digested all History; and this Performance of his takes in the Whole Business of Government: It makes us amends for the Loss of *Cicero's Books de Republica*. Col. *Sydney* had all the clear and apprehensive Knowledge, and all the Dignity of Expression of that great Master of Eloquence and Politics; his Love of Liberty was as warm, his Honesty as great, and his Courage greater.

'LIBERTY cannot be preserved, if the Manners
'of the People are corrupted, nor absolute Monarchy introduced, where they are sincere; which is
'sufficient to shew, that those who manage free Governments, ought always, to the utmost of their
'Power, to oppose Corruption, because otherwise
'both they and their Government must inevitably
'perish; and that, on the other Hand, the absolute
'Monarch must endeavour to introduce it, because
'he cannot subsist without it. 'Tis also so natural
'for all such Monarchs to place Men in Power, who
'pretend to love their Persons, and will depend
'upon their Pleasure, that possibly 'twould be hard
'to find one in the World who has not made it the
'Rule of his Government: And this is not only the
'Way to Corruption, but the most dangerous of all.
'For tho' a good Man may love a good Monarch,

' he will obey him only when he commands that
 ' which is just; and no one can engage himself
 ' blindly to do whatever he is commanded, without
 ' renouncing all Virtue and Religion; because he
 ' knows not whether that which shall be command-
 ' ed is consistent with each, or directly contrary to
 ' the Laws of God and Man. But if such a Mo-
 ' narch be evil, and his Actions such as they are too
 ' often found to be; whoever bears an Affection
 ' to him, and seconds his Designs, declares himself
 ' an Enemy to all that is good; and the Advance-
 ' ment of such Men to Power, does not only intro-
 ' duce, foment, and increase Corruption, but forti-
 ' fies it in such a Manner, that without an entire Re-
 ' novation of that State, it cannot be remov'd. Ill
 ' Men may possibly creep into any Government; but
 ' when the worst are placed nearest to the Throne,
 ' and rais'd to Honours for being so, they will with
 ' that Force endeavour to draw all Men to a Con-
 ' formity of Spirit with themselves, that it can no
 ' otherwise be prevented than by destroying them,
 ' and the Principle in which they live.

' Man naturally follows that which is good, or
 ' seems to him to be so. Hence it is, that in well
 ' governed States, where a Value is put upon Vir-
 ' tue, and no one honoured unless for such Quali-
 ' ties as are beneficial to the Publick, Men are
 ' from the tenderest Years brought up in a Be-
 ' lief, that nothing in this World deserves to be
 ' sought after, but such Honours as are acquired by
 ' virtuous Actions: By this Means, Virtue it self be-
 ' comes popular, as in *Sparta*, *Rome*, and other Places
 ' where Riches (which with the Vanity that follows
 ' them, and the Honours Men give to them, are
 ' the Root of all Evil) were either totally banished, or
 ' little regarded. When no other Advantage attend-
 ' ed the greatest Riches, than the Opportunity of
 ' living more sumptuously or deliciously, Men of
 ' great Spirits slighted them. When *Aristippus* told
 ' *Cleantes*, that if he would go to Court and flatter
 ' the Tyrant, he need not seek his Supper under a
 ' Hedge;

Hedge; the Philosopher answered, that he who
 could content himself with such a Supper, need
 not go to Court to flatter the Tyrant. *Epaminon-*
das, Aristides, Phocion, and even the *Lacedemonian*
 Kings, found no Inconvenience in Poverty, whilst
 their Virtue was honoured, and the richest Princes
 in the World fear'd their Valour and Power. It was
 not difficult for *Curius, Fabricius, Cincinnatus*, or
Emilius Paulus, to content themselves with the nar-
 rowest Fortune, when it was no Obstacle to them
 in the Pursuit of those Honours which their Ver-
 tues deserv'd. 'Twas in vain to think of bribing a
 Man, who sup'd upon the Coleworts of his own
 Garden. He could not be gain'd by Gold, who
 did not think it necessary. He that could rise
 from the Plough to the Triumphal Chariot, and
 contentedly return thither again, could not be cor-
 rupted; and he that lost the Sense of his Poverty
 to his Executors, who found not wherewith to
 bury him, might leave *Macedon and Greece* to the
 Pillage of his Soldiers, without taking to himself
 any Part of the Booty. But when Luxury was
 brought into Fashion, and they came to be honour-
 ed who lived magnificently, though they had in
 themselves no Qualities to distinguish them from
 the basest of Slaves, the most virtuous Men were
 expos'd to scorn if they were poor; and that Po-
 verty, which had been the Mother and Nurse of
 their Virtue, grew insupportable: The Poet well
 understood what Effect this Change had upon the
 World, who said,

Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo

Paupertas Romana perit.

Juven:

When Riches grew to be necessary, the Desire of
 them, which is the Spring of all Mischief, fol-
 low'd. They who could not obtain Honours by
 the Noblest Actions, were obliged to get Wealth,
 or purchase them for Whores or Villains, who ex-
 posed them to Sale: And when they were once
 entered into this Track, they soon learned the Vices
 of those from whom they had receiv'd their Pre-
 ferment,

ferment, and to delight in the Ways that had
 brought to it. When they were come to this, no-
 thing could stop them: All Thought and Remem-
 brance of Good was extinguished. They who had
 bought the Commands of Armies or Provinces
 from *Icetus* or *Narcissus*, sought only how to draw
 Money from them, to enable them to purchase
 higher Dignities, or gain a more assured Protecti-
 on from those Patrons. This brought the Govern-
 ment of the World under a most infamous Traffick;
 and the Treasures arising from it were, for the
 most part, dissipated by worse Vices, than the Ra-
 pine, Violence, and Fraud with which they had
 been gotten. The Authors of those Crimes had
 nothing left but their Crimes, and the Necessity
 of committing more, through the Indigence into
 which they were plung'd by Extravagance of their
 Expences. These Things are inseparable from the
 Life of a Courtier; for as servile Natures are
 guided rather by Sense than Reason, such as ad-
 dict themselves to the Service of Courts, find no
 other Consolation in their Misery, than what they
 receive from sensual Pleasures, or such Vanities as
 they put a Value upon; and have other Care than
 to get Money for their Supply, by begging, steal-
 ing, bribing, and other infamous Practices. Their
 Offices are more or less esteem'd, according to the
 Opportunities they afford for the Exercise of these
 Vertues; and no Man seeks them for any other
 End than for Gain, nor takes any other Way than
 that which conduces to it. The usual Means of
 attaining them are, by observing the Prince's Hu-
 mour, flattering his Vices, serving him in his Plea-
 sures, fomenting his Passions, and by advancing
 his worst Designs, to create an Opinion in him that
 they love his Person, and are entirely addicted to
 his Will. When Valour, Industry, and Wisdom
 advanc'd Men to Offices, it was no easy Matter
 for a Man to perswade the Senate he had such
 Qualities as were required, if he had them not:
 But when Princes seek only such as love them, and
 will

will do what they command, 'tis easy to impose upon them ; and because none that are good will obey them when they command that which is not so, they are always encompass'd by the worst. Those who follow them only for Reward, are most liberal in professing Affection to them, and by that Means rise to Places of Authority and Power. The Fountain being thus corrupted, nothing that is pure can come from it. These mercenary Wretches having the Management of Affairs, Justice and Honour are set at a Price, and the most lucrative Traffick in the World is thereby established. Eutropius, when he was a Slave us'd to pick Pockets and Locks ; but being made a Minister, he sold Cities, Armies and Provinces ; * and some have undertaken to give probable Reasons to believe, that Pallas, one of Claudius's manumis'd Slaves, by these Means brought together more Wealth in Six Years, than all the Roman Dictators and Consuls had done, from the Expulsion of the Kings, to their Passage into Asia. The rest walk'd in the same Way, and the same Arts, and many of them succeeded in the same Manner. Their Riches consisted not of Spoils taken from Enemies, but were the base Product of their own Corruption. They valued nothing but Money, and those who could bribe them were sure to be advanc'd to the highest Offices ; and whatever they did, fear'd no Punishment. Like Effects will ever proceed from the like Causes. When Vanity, Luxury, and Prodigality are in Fashion, the Desire of Riches must necessarily increase in Proportion to them : And when the Power is in the Hands of base mercenary Persons, they will always (to use the Courtiers Phrase) make as much Profit of their Places as they can. Not only Matters of Favour, but of Justice too, will be exposed to Sale ; and no Way will be open to

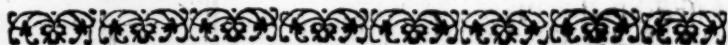
* ——— *Nunc uberiore rapina*
Peccat in orbe manus. Claud.

' Honours or Magistracies, but by paying largely
 ' for them. He that gets an Office by these Means,
 ' will not execute it *gratis*: He thinks he may sell
 ' what he has bought; and would not have enter'd
 ' by corrupt Ways, if he had not intended to deal
 ' corruptly: Nay, if a well-meaning Man should
 ' suffer himself to be so far carry'd away by the
 ' Stream of a prevailing Custom, as to purchase
 ' Honours of such Villians, he would be obliged to
 ' continue in the same Course, that he might gain
 ' Riches to procure the Continuance of his Bene-
 ' factors Protection, or to obtain the Favour of such
 ' as happen to succeed them. And the Corruption
 ' thus beginning in the Head, must necessarily de-
 ' fuse it self into the Members of the Common-
 ' wealth: Or, if any one (which is not to be ex-
 ' pected) after having been guilty of one Villany,
 ' should resolve to commit no more, it could have
 ' no other effect, than to bring him to Ruin; and
 ' he being taken away, all Things would return to
 ' their former Channel.

I am, S I R,

Your old Friend,

C A T O.



To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

April 29: 1721:

SALUST, or whoever else was the Author
 of the two Discourses to *Cæsar* about settling the
 Commonwealth, observes to that Emperor, that those
 Magistrates judge wildly, who would derive their
 own Security from the Corruptions of the People,
 and therefore make them wicked Men, to make
 them good Subjects: Whereas, says he, 'tis the
 Interest of a virtuous Prince to make his People
 virtuous; for, the Debauched, having thrown off all
 Restraint, are of all Men the most ungovernable.

Pliny

Pliny tells *Trajan*, that all his Predecessors, except *Narva* and one or two more, studied how to debauch their People, and how to banish all Virtue, by introducing all Vices; first, because they were delighted to see others like themselves; and secondly, because the Minds of the *Romans* being depraved by the Taste and Vices of Slaves, they would bear with greater Tameness the imperial Yoke of Servitude.

Thus did these Governours and Enemies of *Rome*, destroy Virtue to set up Power. Nor was such Policy at all new or strange: It was then, and always will be, the direct Road to absolute Monarchy, which is in its Nature at everlasting Enmity with all Goodness and Honesty. The *Roman* Virtue and the *Roman* Liberty expired together; Tyranny and Corruption came upon them almost Hand in Hand.

This shews the Importance of an honest Magistracy; nothing certainly is more threatening, or more to be apprehended than a corrupt one. A Knave in Power is as much to be dreaded, as a Fool with a Firebrand in a Magazine of Powder: You have scarce a bare Chance for not being blown up.

From the wicked and worthless Men, who engrossed all the Places at *Rome*, in the latter Days of the Commonwealth, and from the monstrous Prodigalities, infamous Briberies, and endless Corruptions promoted by these Men, the sudden Thralldom of that glorious City might easily have been foreseen. It was scarce possible to be honest and preferr'd: *Atticus* would never accept of any Employment, tho' he was offered the highest. "This Refusal," says *Monsieur Bayle*, was doubtless owing to his "Virtue: There was no rising to Offices then, but "by Means that were infamous; nor was there "any such Thing as executing these Offices according to the Rules of Justice and the publick Good, "without being exposed, for doing so, to the Resentment and Violence of many and great wicked "Men. He therefore chose to be rather a virtuous

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" private Man, than an exalted and publick *Rogue*.

" How charming is this Example, but how rare!

" If all Men were like *Atticus*, there would be
 " danger of a State of Anarchy. But as to that,
 " we may be easy ; for there will be always more
 " Rogues and Rooks at Hand to be devouring and
 " monopolizing Places, by all proper vile Means,
 " than there will be Places to bestow.

Bayle goes on, and tells us of " a great Travel-
 " ler, who being rallied upon his rambling Humour,
 " answered, that he would cease travelling, as soon
 " as ever he could find a Country where Power
 " and Credit were in the Hands of honest Men,
 " and Preferments went by Merit : *Nay then*, says
 " one who heard him, *you will infallibly die Travelling*.

Corruption, Bribery and Treachery, were such
 Ways to Power, as *Atticus* would not tread. *Coll:*
Sydney says, that " a noble Person in his Time,
 " who was a great Enemy to Bribery, was turned
 " out from a considerable Post, as a Scandal to the
 " Court ; for, said the principal Master, *he will make*
 " *no Profit of his Place, and by that Means cast a Scan-*
 " *dal upon those that do.*" And *Alexander ab Alexan-*
dro, tells a Story of " a very honest Man, well
 " skilled in the Languages, who having long struggled
 " with Difficulties and Poverty, while he trusted in
 " vain to his Honesty and Learning, berthought him-
 " self of a contrary Road ; and therefore turning
 " Pimp and Pathick, instantly he prospered, and
 " got great Riches, Power, and Places."

Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris & Carcere dignum?

Cicero, who lived to see dismal Days of Am-
 bition and Corruption at *Rome*, was sensible that he
 could do little or no good with all his Abilities and
 his Honesty. " If I saw, says he, in a Letter to
 " *Lentulus*, if I saw the Commonwealth held and
 " governed by corrupt and desperate Men, as has
 " happened in my Days and formerly, no Motive
 " or Consideration should engage me in their
 " Interests ; neither their Bribes could move me,
 " nor could Dangers, which often sway the boldest

" Men,

"Men, terrify me; nor could any of their Civilities,
 "or any of their Obligations, soften me."

Talking in another Place, of the Senate, then
 aw'd by Power, or governed by Avarice, he says,
*Aut assentiendum est nulla cum gravitate paucis, aut
 frustra dissentiendum:* That is, "you must either base-
 ly vote with *Crassus* and *Cæsar*, and one or two
 "Men more in Power, or vote against them to no Pur-
 "pose." These great Men did not seek Power, nor
 use it, to do good to their Country, which is the End
 of Power; but to themselves, which is the Abuse
 of Power. Where Government is degenerated into
 Jobbing, it quickly runs into Tyranny and Dissolu-
 tion: And he who in any Country possesses himself
 of a great Post for the sake of gainful Jobbs, as a cer-
 tain great Person once own'd he did, ought to finish
 his last Jobb under a Gallows.

It is natural and necessary for those that have
 corrupt Ends, to make use of Means that are cor-
 rupt, and to hate all Men that are uncorrupt.

I would lay it down as a Rule for all Nations to
 consider and observe, that where Bribery is practi-
 sed, 'tis a thousand to one but Mischief is intended;
 and the more Bribery, the more Mischief. When
 therefore the People, or their Trustees, are brib'd,
 they would do well to consider that it is not, it can-
 not be, for their own Sake. Honest and open De-
 signs, which will bear Light and Examination, are
 hurt and discredited by base and dark Expedients
 to bring them about: But, if you would perswade
 a Man to be a Rogue, it is natural that Money
 should be your first Argument; and therefore
 whoever offers me a Bribe, does tacitly acknowledge
 that he thinks me Knave.

Tacitus, taking Notice of the woeful Decline of
 Virtue and Liberty, towards the End of the Repub-
 lick, says, that the greatest Villanies were committed
 with Impunity, and Ruin was the Price of Honesty;
detrerrima quæq; impune; ac multa honesta exitio fuere.
 And indeed, where Corruption and publick Crimes
 are not carefully opposed, and severely punished,
 F 2 neither

neither Liberty nor Security can possibly subsist.

The immense Briberies practised by *Julius Caesar* were sure and terrible Presages of *Caesar's* Tyranny. It is amazing what mighty Sums he gave away: *Caius Curio* alone, one of the Tribunes, was bought into his Interest, at no smaller a Price than half a Million of our Money. Other Magistrates too had their Shares, and all were bribed who would be bribed. We may easily conceive how he came by such Sums; he got them wickedly as he gave them away. Nor can I call him generous in this vast Liberality, since he purchased the *Roman* Empire with its own Money, and gave away a Part to get the Whole.

Unjust and unfrugal Ways of throwing away Money, make wicked and violent Means necessary to get Money; and Ravine naturally follows Prodigality. They that waste publick Money, seldom stop there; but go a wicked Step farther, and having first drained the People, at last oppress them. Publick Frauds are therefore very alarming, as they are very big with publick Ruin. What shall we say then of other Times, when publick Schemes have been concerted to confound all Property, and to put common Honesty out of Countenance, and banish it from amongst Men; and when an Appetite for Power was only an Appetite for Mischief? Dreadful sure was the Prospect! And yet this was the State of *Rome* in those Days, as will be seen further before this Letter is ended.

Nor would it have been any Advantage or Security to *Rome*, tho' *Caesar* and his Party had been less able Men than in Truth they were: Having debauched the People, he did more by Corruption towards enslaving them, than he did by his Parts, as great as they were. It is some where observed, that to do good, requires some Parts and Pains; but any Man may be a Rogue. *The World*, says the Proverb, *little knows what silly Fellows govern it.* And even the Difficulties of doing good, proceeds from the Pravity, of some Mens Nature, ever prone to do Evil; and so strong is that Pravity, that many

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Men do frequently slight great Temptations to be honest, and embrace slight Temptations to be Knaves.

It is an Observation, which every Body is capable of making, that a good Character lost is hardly, if ever recover'd. Now the Reason of this is not so much from the Malevolence of the World (often too ready to calumniate) as from the Inability of a Knave to become honest: He is, as it were doom'd to be one: The Bias of his Spirit is crooked; and if ever he acts honestly, it is for a roguish Reason. I have known a Man, who having wilfully lost all Credit, rejected as wilfully all Opportunities to regain it, even when thrown into his Lap. He could not help earning fresh Detestation, with great Labour; when he might have acquired the highest Reputation, with the greatest Ease. From hence may be seen how dangerous it is ever to trust a Man, who has once been a Villain: And hence too may be learned, that from Men who have done eminent Mischief, whether publick or private, greater still is to be dreaded. Vice is a prolifick Thing, and Wickedness naturally begets Wickedness.

Olearius, giving an Account of *Muscovy*, observes, "That the great Duke's Court hath this in common with those of other Princes, that Vice takes Place of Virtue, and gets nearer the Throne. Those who have the Honour to be nearest his Person, are withal more subtle, more deceitful, and more insolent, than the others that have not. They know very well how to make their Advantages of the Prince's Favour, and look for the greatest Respects and humblest Submissions imaginable from those who make their Addresses to them; which the others render them, as much to avoid the Mischief they might do to them, as for the Good they expect from them." This is the Character of a Court, where one is not much surpriz'd nor troubled to find out Tyranny and Corruption in abundance: But one is at once amazed and affected with the mournful Account *Salust* gives us of the *Romans* in his Time; *the Romans who had been so virtuous a People, so great and so free!* The

The Romans, he says, were arrived to that Pitch of Corruption, that they gloried in Extravagancy and Rapine, and made Sarcasms upon Vertue. Modesty and a disinterested Mind pass'd with them only for Sloth and Cowardice. Those that were in Power, neglecting Virtue, and conspiring against Innocence, preferr'd only their own Creatures. *Innocentes circumveniunt, suos ad honorem tollunt*; wicked Deeds and an infamous Character, were no Bars to the possessing of Power; and those that acted as if Rapine was their Employment, and Plunder the Perquisites of their Place, were not thought unfit for fresh Preferments. *Non facinus, non probum, aut flagitium obstat, quo minus Magistratus capiant: quod commodum est, trahunt, rapiunt.* At last, their great Men had no Principle but Rapaciousness, and observed no Law but their Lust. The whole Commonwealth was become their Prey and their Pillage: *Postremo, tanquam urbe capta, libidine ac licentia sua, pro legibus utuntur.*

The same Author says, that it would have lessened his Concern, had he seen such great Wickedness perpetrated by Men of great Qualities: But his Grief had not this Mitigation, For, says he, *wretched Creatures with little Souls, whose whole Genius lay in their Tongue, and whose utmost Talent and Ability was to prate glibly, exercis'd with Insolence that Power which they had acquir'd by Chance, or by the Sloth of others. Ac me quidem mediocris dolor angeret, si virtute partam victoriam more suo per servitium exercerent: Sed homines inertissimi quorum omnis vis virtusque IN LINGUA SITA EST, FORTE, & ALTERIUS SOCORDIA, dominationem oblatam insolentes agitant*; And for the Roman Nobility of that Time, he says, that, like stupid Statues, their Names and Titles were their only Ornaments: *Inertissimi Nobiles, in quibus, sicut in Statua, præter nomen, nihil est additamenti.* Salust ad C. Cæsarem, de Repub. Ordinand.

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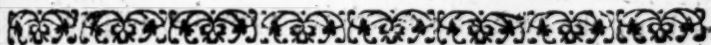
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We see what a Market these Men made of Power, and what a Degree of Degeneracy they introduced. The End of all was, the utter Loss of Liberty, and a settled Tyranny.

I am SIR,

Your old Friend,

CATO.



To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR,

May 6. 1721.

SEE what it is to be conspicuous! Your Honesty, and the Truths you tell, have drawn upon you much Envy, and many Lies. You cannot be answer'd, and therefore it is fit to *abuse* you. Had you kept groveling near the Earth, in Company with most other Weekly Writers, you might have lull'd the Town asleep as they do, with great Safety to your Person, and without any Body's saying an unkind Word of you: But you have gallop'd away so fast, and so far before them, that it is no Wonder the poor Vermin, conscious of their own Heaviness and want of Speed, crawl after you and *curse* you — It is natural; human Sight is offended with Splendor: This is exemplified in a Man looking at the Sun; he makes all the while a World of wry Mouths and distorted Faces.

Consider your self, Sir, as the Sun to those Authors, who behold you with Agonies, while they behold you with Admiration. Great Minds alone are pleas'd with the Excellencies of others, and vulgar Souls provoked by them: The Mob of Writers is like the Weavers Mob; *All Levellers*. This appears by their unmannerly and seditious Speeches concerning you, *their Monarch*. Strange Instance of Impudence and Ingratitude! they live upon you, and scold at you. Your Lot is the same with that of many other eminent Authors; you feed *Vermin* before you are dead.

Your

Your Sland'ers, as they are below even Courtiers, so are they far below all Notice: But it is worth considering who set them at work, from whom they receive the Wages of Prostitution, and what contradictory Things the *poor Creatures* are taught to say. Scarce a Paper appear'd for a considerable Time together, in which *Cato's Letters* were not extoll'd; and those who did it, endeavour'd, to the best of their Skill, to write after him; but finding that *his Labours*, made *theirs* useles, and that the recommending of publick Spirit was too mighty a Task for *humble Hirlings*, they suddenly, and without any Ceremony tack about, and by calumniating *Cato*, make themselves Liars: Such Deference have they for their Customers, and for themselves!

It is no Wonder therefore, that the same worth, but waggish Pens, represent him with the same Breath, as an *abandon'd Atheist*, and a *bigotted Presbyterian*; while others plainly prove him a *flaming Jacobite*, and an *arrant Republican*; that is, one who is high for *Monarchy*, and one who is against *all Monarchy*. I could shew you these pretty Consistencies in one and the same Paper.

Cato had described and shew'd the horrid Effects of publick Confusion, and contended for punishing the Authors of our own: Hence *Cato* is represented as an *Enemy to Government and Order*, and a *Promoter of Confusion*.

Cato had bestowed real and unfeigned Encomiums upon his Majesty, and done all Justice to the Abilities and Honesty of his Ministers: Hence *Cato* is charg'd with *casting Reproaches*, and *making Sarcasms upon his Majesty and his Ministry*.

Cato has writ against *Turkish, Asiatick*, and all sorts of Tyranny: Hence *Cato* is said to be a *great Incendiary*, and an *open Enemy to our Constitution*.

Cato contends, that great Traitors ought to be hang'd: Hence *Cato* is traduced as if he affronted the Government.

Cato asserts, that the Good of Mankind is the End of Government: Hence *Cato* is for *destroying all Government*.

Cato lays down certain Rules for farther establishing his Majesty's Throne, and for Ensuring to him for ever the Minds of his People: Therefore *Cato* is a *Jacobite*.

Cato has shewn at large, the Blessings of a limited Monarchy, especially of our own: Therefore *Cato* is a *Republican*.

Cato has shewn the Dreadfulness of popular Insurrections, and Fury; the Misery of Civil Wars, and the Uncertainty of their End: Therefore *Cato* stirs up the People to Sedition and Rebellion.

Cato laments that great Criminals are seldom brought to the Gallows: Hence *Cato* is represented as one that *deserves the Gallows*.

Cato, talking of *Turkey*, observes, with Warmth and Concern, that the *Holy Name of God* was belied, and Religion prostituted, to bind down Wretchedness upon his Creatures, and to protect the Tyrant that does it: Therefore *Cato* scurrilously reviles the *Church of England*.

Cato had shewn the destructive Terrors of Arbitrary Power, and how it had almost dispeopled the Earth: In answer to this, it is said, that *Cato* wears a dark *Whig*.

Cato has complained that this great Nation has been abused, cheated and exhausted; its Trade ruined; its Credit destroy'd; its Manufactures discouraged, &c. and affirm'd, that Vengeance is due to those Traytors who have done it; that none but Traytors will protect Traytors; that publick Honesty and publick Spirit ought to be encouraged, in Opposition to publick Corruption, Bribery, and Rapine; that there is Regard to be had to the Rights, Privileges, and Tempers of the People: That standing Armies are dreadful Things; that a Military Government is violent and bloody: That they are the blackest Traytors, who would break the Confidence between a Prince and his Subjects: That

great Men mind chiefly the getting of Plumbs; and that honest Measures are the best Measures. To all which it is replied, that *Cato is a whimsical unreasonable Man, who talks and expects strange Things; and in fine, that he dreams odd Dreams.*

By such powerful Arguments is *Cato* answer'd; by such pretty Arts decried. *He is really a great Criminal*; he asserts the Rights and Property of the People, and calls for Justice upon those who would destroy them: *He is surely a Jacobite*, who would not let certain elevated Sages do what they would, and get what they pleased. I would ask, Whether the obliging, protecting, and avenging the injured People, be likely Ways to bring in the Pretender? And yet these are the Ways which *Cato* contends for: Or, whether the deceiving, loading, and squeezing of the harmless People, be natural Ways to make and keep them well affected? And yet these are the Ways which *Cato* condemns and exposes.

Being detach'd from all Parties, and eminently guiltless of all personal Views of his own, and going upon Principles certainly true in themselves, and certainly beneficent to human Society; it is no wonder that he is read and approved by every intelligent Man in *England*, except the Guilty, their Screens, Hirelings and Adherents. What he writes, the People feel to be true. If Men can be great Knaves in spite of Opposition; how much greater would they be, if there was none? And if Justice is oppos'd, openly, shamelessly and violently oppos'd, in spite of her Champions and Defenders; she must certainly be destroy'd, if she had none. It is a dismal Reflection, that Justice must sometimes be fought for Inch by Inch, before it can be obtained, and at last is not half obtain'd; and that the higher and blacker the Villany is, the greater is the Security. I hope this will never be our Case; but I could name many a Country whose Case it has been.

I am not surpriz'd that certain tall Traitors are very angry at *Cato*. *Good now, hold your Tongue*, said a Quack to his complaining Patient, under Agonies

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into which he had been cast by the Doctor's infallible Specifick : *Good now hold your Tongue, and be easy,--leave the Matter to me, and the Matter will go well ;* that is, lie still and die, and I will warrant you. Great Grief and Distress, will have Utterance, in spite of Art or Terror.

On Ascension Day, when the Doge of Venice weds the Sea with a Ring ; the Admiral, who conducts the Bucentauro, or Vessel, in which that Ceremony is performed, does a bold Thing : He pawns his Head to the Senate, to ensure them against the Danger and Effects of Tempests and Storms. But the Thing would be still bolder, if he had first wilfully rais'd a Storm, or bor'd a Hole in the Vessel.

I appeal to the Sense of the Nation, daily uttered in their Addresses to the Parliament for Relief and Vengeance, whether *Cato's* Sentiments are not the same with theirs ; and I appeal to the Sufferings, the heavy, melancholy Sufferings of the People, whether either *Cato* or they speak thus without Grounds :

The Grounds are too visible, and their Allegations too true---Hence the Rage of Guilt, which is more gall'd by Truth, than Innocence is hurt by Lies : And hence I have heard it observed, concerning a certain Set of Worthies, that they do not care what Falshoods you publish concerning them, but will never forgive you if you meddle with Facts.

For certain Gentlemen to find Fault with *Cato's* Letters, is to avow their own Shame. Why was there Occasion given for those Letters ? Some other Questions might be ask'd too, which would discover fresh Blackness in these Betrayers, were they not already all over black. Who is it that might have checked, and yet did not check rampant Rogues last Summer ? And from what Motives proceeded such Omission ? Who is it that openly screens open Guilt ? Who is it that conceals the Evidence of Guilt ? Who is it that browbeats the Pursuers of Guilt ? Who is it that throws Obstacles in the Parliament's Way ? Who is it that lengthens out the

cess? Who is it that strives to defeat the Enquiry? Who is it that makes Male contents, and then reproaches them for being so?

In vain they fall upon *Cato* with lying Reproaches, false Pictures, and ugly Names: Their Conduct bewrays them; by making him of every Party, they shew him to be of none; as he has shew'd himself to be of none. I thought it, however, not amiss, thus once for all, to make his Apology, and to shew what are his Crimes, and who his Enemies. His great Guilt is, that he will not spare Guilt; and the great Objection to his Writings is, that they cannot be answered. Let the Reader judge whether I have misrepresented him or his Foes, who are no other than the late Directors, their Friends and Confederates.

As to the poor Weekly Journeymen of the Press, whose Principle is the ready Penny, and who, for a Morfel, defile Paper and blur Reputations *without hurting them*, they deserve no Resentment. It is their Profession to do what they are bid, when they are paid for it. A Church is not the less sacred, because Curs frequently lift up their Leg against it, and affront the Wall: *It is the Nature of Dogs*. They therefore are and ought to be pitied and overlook'd; the Business of this Letter to you, Sir, being to expose the false and unjust Censures of some, who bear a greater Figure than such harmless Weekly Writers, without possessing more Honesty.

The Conjectures of these Creatures about the Person of *Cato*, afford Matter of Mirth. They will needs know him Right or Wrong. Let them guess on; whatever they guess, I will venture to pronounce them Lyars, tho' they should guess truly; since without being able to do any Thing more than guess, they yet go on to affirm; which no honest Man wou'd do without competent Evidence.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

PORTIUS.

To

To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

May 13. 1721.

I Would willingly propagate and preserve the following Order of Council, as a Monument of his Majesty's great Zeal for Virtue and Religion. It is publish'd in the Gazette of the 29th of April, in the following Words :

At the Court of St. James's, the 28th Day of
April 1721.

P R E S E N T,

The King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

HIS Majesty having received Information, which gives great Reason to suspect that there have lately been, and still are, in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, certain scandalous Clubs or Societies of young Persons, who meet together, and in the most impious and blasphemous Manner insult the most sacred Principles of our Holy Religion, affront Almighty God himself, and corrupt the Minds and Morals of one another; and being resolved to make use of all the Authority committed to him by Almighty God, to punish such enormous Offenders, and to crush such shocking Impieties before they encrease and draw down the Vengeance of God upon this Nation: His Majesty has thought fit to command the Lord Chancellor, and his Lordship is hereby required, to call together his Majesty's Justices of the Peace of *Middlesex* and *Westminster*, and strictly to enjoin them, in the most effectual Manner, that they, and every of them, do make the most diligent and careful Enquiry and Search for the Discovery of any Thing of this and the like Sort, tending in any wise to the Corruption of the Principles and Manners

ners of Men, and to lay before his Lordship such Discoveries as from time to time may be made, to the End that all proper Methods may be taken for the utter Suppression of all such detestable Practices. His Lordship is further directed to urge them to the due Execution of their Office, in detecting and prosecuting with Vigour all Profaneness, Immorality, and Debauchery, as they value the Blessing of Almighty God, as they regard the Happiness of their Country, which cannot subsist if Things sacred and virtuous are trampled upon, and as they tender his Majesty's Favour, to which they cannot recommend themselves more effectually than by shewing the utmost Zeal upon so important an Occasion; to which End his Lordship is to acquaint them, that as his Majesty for himself has nothing more at Heart than to regard the Honour of God, so impiously struck at, and is determined to shew all Marks of Displeasure and Discouragement to any who may lie even under the Suspicion of such Practices; so he shall always account it the greatest and most substantial Service they can do to His Majesty or his Government, to exert themselves in discovering any who are guilty of such Impieties, that they may be openly prosecuted and punished with the utmost Severity and most publick Ignominy with the Laws of the Land can inflict.

Edward Southwell,

To this it is added, in the same Gazette, That His Majesty has been pleas'd to give Orders to the Principal Officers of his Household, to make strict and diligent Enquiry, whether any of his Majesty's Servants are guilty of the horrid Impieties mentioned in the Order of Council inserted above, and to make a Report thereof to his Majesty."

These Societies must certainly be as distracted as they are impious: I have indeed been in doubt till now, whether there really were any such; but I am in no doubt about the Punishment they deserve:

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I think it ought to be the most severe that is due to such raving Wickedness, which is such, as neither Youth nor Wine can excuse, nor indeed extenuate; and till they are further punished, I think the darkest Holes in *Bedlam* ought to be their Portion. But outrageous and godless as they are, they do not merit more Detestation and Severity, than do those who inhumanly give out, that Gentlemen who abhor such Clubs are Members of them: The Authors of so dreadful a Calumny are much worse than Murderers, because they endeavour to take away from Men something much dearer than Life; They are therefore in the Class with Demons, and earn such mighty Vengeance as God only can inflict.

The above Order of Council is very just and religious, of excellent Use and Example: So much Zeal cannot stop at a Club or two of pernicious, tho' private Sinners, but doubtless extends to other Criminals, more publick and considerable, and even more destructive. The greatest Part of the Wickedness done by those thoughtless young Wretches, is done to themselves, and like to remain with them; there being little Probability that they will ever make many Profelytes to their astonishing Phrenzies: Whereas the other great Criminals, for the sole sake of doing good to themselves, have undone almost every Man in *England*, with *England* it self into the Bargain. They set Three Nations to sale, and themselves fixing the Price, were themselves the Buyers: They purchas'd our Happiness, and paid us in Want and Sorrow. Every good Man is Proof against the Contagion of Profaneness; but Virtue and Goodness stood us in no stead against our Money - Monsters, who having robb'd all honest Men, made a Jest of Honesty it self. Can there be greater Evils under the Sun, than rampant Plunderers, abandon'd Corruption, and devouring Calamity? Or are there any other Evils which these do not produce?

We

We therefore take it for granted, That as his Majesty is determin'd to shew all Marks of Displeasure and Discouragement to any who may even lye under the Suspicion of such destructive Practices; so he will always account it the most substantial Service we can do to him and his Government, to exert our selves in discovering any who are guilty of such unparell'd Frauds, such National Wickedness; that they may be openly prosecuted and punish'd with the utmost Severity, and most Publick Ignominy that the Legislature can inflict.

And as ' His Majesty has been pleas'd to give ' Orders to the Principal Officers of his Household, ' to make strict and diligent Enquiry, whether any ' of His Majesty's Servants are guilty of the horrid ' Impieties mentioned in the Order of Council inserted above, and to make Report thereof to his ' Majesty." So we may assure our selves, that the same severe Enquiry has been already made, whether any of those in Trust under his Majesty, or about his Person, have stain'd their Hands, dishonour'd their Master, and provok'd Almighty God, by promoting or embarking in any of the horrid and spreading Mischiefs, practis'd last Year by the late South-Sea Directors, and their Confederates.

An Enquiry into Religion, and the private Morals of Men, is not inconsistent with an Enquiry into Civil and Publick Villanies; nor can the former ever prove a Bone of Contention to divert the latter, whatever the Wicked and the Guilty may hope, and the Honest and Distressed may apprehend. Fresh Objects of Horror and Aversion cannot lessen our general Derefestation for those, who ought to be beyond all others detested. While we pursue Wolves and Tygers, and the mightier Beasts of Prey, who if they are not destroy'd will continue to destroy, we are not to be diverted by the Scent of a Fox or Badger, though they may annoy a private Neighbourhood, and dispeople Hen-roosts.

Our publick Virtue is the best and surest Proof we can give of our private Piety: Piety and Justice are inseparable; and Prayers said Ten times a Day, will

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will not atone for a Murder or a Robbery committed once a Month: Appearances go for nothing, when Facts contradict them. The readiest Way therefore to shew that our Hearts are pure, is to shew that our Hands are clean, and that we will punish those that have foul ones.

Here is a Test of our Virtue and Innocence. Let us hang up publick Rogues, as well as punish private Blasphemers: The Observance of Religion, and the Neglect of Justice, are Contradictions. Let any Man ask himself, Whether a Nation is more hurt by a few giddy, unthinking young Wretches, talking madly in their Drink; or by open, deliberate and publick Depredations committed by a Junto of Veteran Knaves, who add to the Injury, and to their own Guilt, by a shew of Gravity, and a canting Pretence to Religion? The late Directors all pretended to be good Christians. I would ask one Question more; namely, Whether it had not been better for *England*, that the late Directors, and their Masters, had spent their Nights and their Days, in the *Hell Fire Club*, than in contriving and executing execrable Schemes, to ruin *England*? Pray, which of the Two is your greater Enemy; he who robs you of all you have, but neither curses nor swears at you; or he who only curses you or himself, and takes nothing from you?

Where Justice is exactly observed, Religion will be observed; and to pretend to be very strict about the Latter, without minding the Former, would be highly absurd and ridiculous. Virtue necessarily produces Religion, and is it self Religion; and Profaneness and Irreligion will ever and necessarily follow Corruption, the prolifick Parent of numberless Mischiefs.

Private Profaneness is not therefore half so terrible to humane Society, as publick Roguery and publick Robbery. The Happiness of Mankind is surely the Cause of God; and whenever I hear of Arrêts and Edicts made by Popish and Tyrannical foreign Princes, in Favour of Religion, I consider them as

so many Mockeries of God, whose Creatures they, at the same Time, grind and destroy. As consistently might they pretend great Zeal for observing religiously the Sixth Command, and yet murder by War and Famine, Ten Thousand of their Subjects a Week.

James Nailor was severely punished for Blasphemy; Is there any Comparison, as to their Effects, between the Crime of *James Nailor*, and the Crimes of the late Directors and their Seconds and Abettors? *James Nailor* (being himself deluded) misled a few ignorant People, whose Error was their greatest Crime: But our modern Impostors, our *South-Sea Deceivers*, have actually and wilfully plunder'd their Country of near Thirty Millions of Money, and involved it in universal Confusion and Want.

It is therefore a sensible Pleasure to us, to behold his Majesty and his Ministry engaged with so much Zeal in vindicating our Property as well as our Religion. His Majesty, in particular, has condescended with unparalell'd, I am sure, uncommon Goodness, to tell the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, that *he has had no Share in the late wicked Management*. This is a Piece of Royal Grace, with which, I believe, never any Subjects were blessed before. From hence we may draw a fresh Assurance of his Majesty's Alacrity and Readiness, to punish the execrable Authors of that wicked Management, who are also the greatest Enemies to his Crown and Dignity.

' His Majesty being resolved to make use of all the Authority committed to him by Almighty God, to punish such enormous Offenders, and to crush such shocking Impieties, before they encrease and draw down the Vengeance of God upon this Nation: I say, his Majesty being thus zealous for Religion and the Nation, will never suffer the Authors of the greatest Evil, the highest Villany ever committed in this Nation, to escape unpunished. Has ever a heavier Judgment befallen our Nation, than the last Year's merciless Rapine? And can there be greater Enemies to God and Man, than the Authors of it? Monsters,

Monsters, who were for plucking up all Vertue and all Property by the Roots. Oh, that their Success had not increased their Guilt! They acted as if they did not believe that there was a God who judged the World, and as if they defied all humane Tribunals, as well as the Divine. These are the Atheists terrible to Society; and this the Atheism wofully and universally felt. Desolation and Misery are the Occupation and Sport of Devils, and they their Vicegerents who promote them.

He who talks profanely of Things sacred, is a wicked Man, and as ill bred as he is wicked. But he who wantonly fills a Country, a glorious happy Country, with Want, Woe, and Sorrow, griping Want, dismal Woe, and piercing Sorrow; what Name, what Torture, what Death does he not deserve? He is a Destroyer General — He is a mad Dog, with ten thousand Mouths, who scatters Poyson, Wounds and Death all around him.

I shall conclude in the strong Words of the above Order of Council; namely, that as we value the Blessing of Almighty God, as we regard the Happiness of our Country, which cannot subsist if Things sacred and virtuous (and such are private Property, publick Faith, and publick Justice) are trampled upon: and as we tender his Majesty's Favour, to which we cannot recommend our selves more effectually, than by shewing the utmost Zeal upon so important an Occasion; I say, as we value all these, let us be warm, bold and active in the Discovery and Punishment of such enormous Offenders, and to crush such shocking Mischiefs, before they increase, and draw down the Vengeance of God upon this Nation.

I am S I R,
Your Humble Servant,
CATO.

P. S. I, who hate to see the Punishment of any sort of great Wickedness linger, do here propose an Expedient to come at a Certainty about blasphemous Clubs: Let a Reward be publickly offered for the

the Discovery of any of their Members, to be paid upon their legal Conviction ; and in the mean Time, let us not cast random Reproaches upon particular Men ; lest, by falling upon the innocent, they return double upon our selves. It is base and dishonest to feign Crimes that are not ; and where they really are, it is barbarous and diabolical to father them upon the Guiltless : He who charges upon another a Crime that deserves the Gallows, does, if it proves false, pronounce Sentence against himself, and proclaim his own Right to Tyburn : As, on the other Hand, he who skreens from the Gallows those that deserve it, adopts their Title to the Halter, and ought to swing in their Room.

Can there be greater Justice and Impartiality than this ? And I assure you, Sir, I heartily wish they may take Place.

In a few Days will be published

THE Fifth Collection of Political Letters, written by C A T O, in the London Journal ; which compleats all the Political Letters published by that Author to the End of July, 1721.